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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war honors.[4] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[5] our grandfathers who are in control of wars to whom all the war powers that exist in this world belong they will assuredly bless you.

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[6] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health.

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on

[4] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prizes generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The price of the wampum necklaces was always given by the victor to his elder sisters.

[5] That is, fast.

[6] That is, obtain war power so that you can go on the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

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614 533 Associated with every clan was also four clan songs. These were supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They were always sung on the death of an individual, and were supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs was so intimately associated with death that when some hardened offender, let us say, some individual who had killed a member of the tribe and who refused to make atonement of any kind, was pursued, he defiantly sang his clan songs.

[761] [627]

614 [302] As a last element in the clan complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary association that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that it had grown around a strong social-political unit.

INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

614 575 Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, in so far as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend upon the respective center of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability in this respect. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional unit of the latter the center from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society like the Medicine Dance, the Grizzly-Bear Dance, and Night-Spirit Dance, no influence is perceptible. However, these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive

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the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manu°pe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

> When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

CLAN NAMES

TCE HIK'IR'ARANJERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 Morateqa.....He who travels the land.
551 Teanimaniwinga.....She who walks ahead.
Teeninksiga.....Suckling buffalo calf.
Teega.....Buffalo.
Teep'anu"pga.....Two buffalo heads.
Teetca"iwinga.....First buffalo.
Teeloje nink'a.....Buffalo yearling.
Teeloninik'a.....Young buffalo bull.
Teewinzedega.....Big female buffalo.
Wirukanaga.....He who is in control.
Hehekmaniga?.....Shaggy walker.
Teehatcewinga.....Buffalo hide blue.
Mangiksuntega.....Shakes the earth by striking.
Teep'aga.....Buffalo head.
Manok'azuhiga.....Kicking up the earth.

THE DEER CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[571] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[826 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *wankcigohoniga* and *na"natcgiega*.

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to Christian influence. The one place where he plays an important rôle, the myth of the twins, shows definite indications of European influence. The only thing that militates against such an assumption is the fact that there does not seem to be any particular reason why the existence of a chief evil spirit should have been doubted, even if we were to grant that Christian influence extended the belief. The French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a very definite idea of the devil and made it a point to tell the Indians that all their former habits were due to deceptions the devil had practiced upon them. To-day such an answer is the first that a Christianized Winnebago or a member of the new Peyote cult will give an ethnologist. Perhaps, after all, it is a very old Winnebago conception, a confirmation of the view promulgated before, that in former times the Winnebago had a very definite conception of evil spirits taking an active part in the affairs of man to his detriment. The figure of *Hereegu'nina* is well defined and it would be ridiculous, in our opinion, to believe that the shamans would have done anything to develop it. We have clear indications of what the shamans were trying to do with this conception. They were attempting to bring it into some relation with the concept of Earthmaker, a beneficent All-Father, and to do so they were even willing to claim that *Hereegu'nina* was the first attempt of Earthmaker to create a spirit; that Earthmaker was dissatisfied with his work and threw it away; that then *Hereegu'nina* watched Earthmaker create spirits and imitated him, the evil spirits representing these imitations. The shamans, we should expect, would have done all in their power to lessen the importance of *Hereegu'nina*, even to deny his existence, and, in this connection, it may be of significance that one Winnebago interpreted his name to mean, "He-who-seems-to-exist-but-who-does-not."

Whatever the case may be, this much is clear, that in the twin myth he is represented as a deity as powerful as Earthmaker, whom Earthmaker can not destroy; upon whom the twins play jokes but whom they cannot really harm.

The concept of disease.—Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men.

The deity known as Disease-giver is the one exception to the rule that the Winnebago spirits do not directly cause disease, for he is sometimes described as scattering death broadcast over the earth.

The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.—Death is rarely, if ever, ascribed to the spirits. It likewise is a fact of existence and,

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761 when explained, is laid at the door of some evil man. Death at old
776 age is clearly taken for granted. Where explanations are advanced,
[754] they are always for the deaths of individuals before their time, or at least before what the Winnebago consider their time.

761 The Winnebago look at death in two ways as being, first, a different kind of consciousness from that possessed in life, and, secondly, as being a cessation of certain kinds of intercourse between individuals. Death is regarded as a "stumbling," after which the individual goes right on as if nothing had happened. He does not know he is dead until he sees his body. The individual is divested of all his corporeal investment and desires. In the myth of the journey of the soul to spirit land the ghost is not entirely a spirit until the old woman
[715] whom he meets brains him, thus, by destroying the seat of consciousness, depriving him of all corporeality and carnal desires. The ghost then becomes a spirit, in some cases of the same type as the true spirits.

761 Although the Winnebago know that after death they will never see
775 people again, they do not feel that all kinds of intercourse have ceased. The deceased may appear to a living individual in dreams or visions; he may talk to him or make his presence felt in a multitude of ways; and since, as we pointed out before, the test of existence is the consciousness of some kind of contact, such intercourse may be of a very intense type.

This lack of a feeling of discontinuity between the living and the dead is emphasized by the Winnebago concept of after-life and reincarnation.

775 After-life is but life on earth, only idealized. Everything is provided. All carnal desires have been done away with and men and women spend their time in one long round of enjoyment and bliss. Something of the fear of ghosts lingers here, however, for when living individuals try to reach spirit land—and a number of such instances are mentioned in the myths, particularly in the origin myth of the Ghost dance—these spirits are likely to be harmful.

By the belief in reincarnation the Winnebago entirely bridge the gulf between life and death. In other words, we seem to have a cycle consisting of life (consciousness), after-life (unconsciousness from a corporeal viewpoint), and life (reincarnation). To live again is the greatest desire of the Winnebago, and practically every secret society holds this out as the lure to the outsider. If you join the Medicine Lodge you will become reincarnated, they say, and the other ritualistic organizations make the same claim. But not only by joining an organization is it possible to be reincarnated; if you live an upright life, if you die on the battlefield, reincarnation also awaits you.

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inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, you will be of no consequence socially and those around you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first.

*159 school but, instead, stayed near the old woman and did various jobs for her. There I stayed all spring.

*159 I had been told that if a person initiated into the
756 Medicine Dance did not regard the affair as sacred this
● 761 was a sign that he would die soon. This frightened
796 me a good deal for I had been thinking of the whole matter in a very light-hearted fashion and I now felt that this was an indication that I would soon die. I did my best therefore to consider it a sacred ceremony. In spite of all this, however, I did not succeed.

*159 About this time I left for Tomah. It was about the middle of the summer. I stayed and lived with my
[869] grandfather and from that time on was taught by him many of the details of the Medicine Dance. For instance, when I prepared a sweat-bath for him he would teach me some of the songs. I accordingly prepared the bath for him frequently. He would always be grateful and that is another of the reasons why I was glad to do it. Before long I had learned all the songs he knew so that when I was invited to a Medicine Dance I would do all the singing and he would only do the talking. From that time on I said that it was a sacred affair, and from then on I participated in the ceremony for the greatness inhering in it. I boasted
[156] of its greatness in the presence of women, in order to make a good impression upon them.

[P. 126]